LAWRENCE, KANSAS, MAY 1, 1858.

Political.

the U. S. House of Re-

only because I cannot do so consistently from which my views of the subject are submitted to the people for their decision by Congress, in the passage of the organic act, was a sectional question—the question of Slavery. Sharing in this eart and all my strength, for the supremacy of that class of domestic instias which experience had demonstrated to be best calculated to foster, ameliorate, enlarge, and improve the condition country, and thereby to strengthen the ity of Republican institutions, of the main stay. Although chosen as a representative by those who favor this system of government subsequent devel-

opments have greatly enlarged the numer of these for whom I speak.

The sectional issue which has heretofore obtained, is swallowed up in a still greater issue, precipitated upon us and le country, by the presentation here of the Lecompton Constitution. When I stand here in my place, to plead

espective of their party predilections.

The Kansas act guarantied to extend to all who should settle under its provisions, certain definitive political privileges, as well for their protection as for their guidance, whilst the country should remain in a state of pupilage. This act was char-acterized by a declaration of the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with the subject of Slavery in the Territories, " leaving the people thereof, perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only

to the Constitution of the United States.' It will appear by an analysis of this general declaration, as found in the de-tails of the bill, that the people were to have the right of representation in this branch of Congress, the uninterrupted choice of a local Legislature, and the supervision of their local and municipal affairs. The Constitution of the United

The organic act failed to secure forth to arrest

of his own. This is the short the first available occasion, by the exer- ing write, as well as of the write themshall not repeat details that are familiar, appearing to presecute them. This in-

right of the people to choose their own

hands of irresponsible invaders. the invaders met in the mouth of July, and proceeded to enact their guilty dethe object for which they were designed. which this great interest is, in my opinion, That object of course was the retention of irrespective of their character or intentions, collar and the lock, the halter and the

proved doctrines of our Democratic co-tempories, were alike cut short in this six district the six district the six of the the invading class, with a prohibition of popular election for two years. In short they stretched across the whole field of popular rights, as Congress had defined it, a net-work of prohibition level and the short of the short

tion of the Territory. There never has dictments. Scarcely an honest man es-been any Territorial Government in caped. The process of the court went one, for two reasons.: 1st, the intrusion New mobs, levied from foreign States of non-residents voters; and, 2nd, the cruised about the Territory, under color improper intervention of Federal power. of the United States Marshal's passe commy constituents, in order to promote the of the popular rights in the Territory, on monly practiced under the pretext of serv-

by any other person on either side of this Chamber. I belong to no political organization recognized here. I have no party to serve, and none to fear in treading this ground. Sectional parties alone exist in Kansas. No other could exist, because the great paramount issue, framed and this ground and this great paramount issue, framed and the great paramount issue and the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount issue and the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount issue and the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount in the great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramount in the great paramount in the great paramount is great paramount in the great paramo this manner and by such means, was the arms, and with men. The Surveyor's General's office, under the auspices of Callocal assembly wrested from them, and hour, was used as a recruiting station, and the power incident thereto, lodged in the Government funds to pay the recruits. ands of irresponsible invaders.

A system of espionage was instituted, in Being now securely entrenched behind the post-offices, the mails habitually ranies of cannon on the banks of the Missouri river, the ordinary route to the Tersigns into the forms of law. Whatever ritory, effectually closed it to emigration. else may be said of these laws, it cannot The route through Nebraska, the only be denied that they are well adapted for practicable one left, was guarded by squad-The route through Nebraska, the only that end, it was becoming that they should rendezvous was opened at Oxford—since seek to destroy all the great aids by which down the prespective rights of the peo-ple to muncipal officers of their own elec-tion, and imposed upon them creatures of distributed among this ruffian band. Some vacancy in the office of the sheriff, these

fearful augury has begun. The Lecomposerved that every one who was ent ton Constitution has been framed. The Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives.

March 31st, 1858.

Mr. Chairman—I need not apologize for venturing to avail myself of the indulgence of the Committee, to submit of Kansas. If any apology were necessary, I might find it in the fact that a Delegate from a distant Territory, [Gen.] read to Executive favor. I refrain from characterizing that speech as it deserves, only because I cannot do so consistently with the proprieties of the place. In undertaking to present the case of Kausas, dertaking to present the case of Kausas, the first Legislative Assembly, as a basis upon which to apportion the representation of the constitutional Convention what it was the first Legislative Assembly, as a basis upon which to apportion the representation of the constitutional Convention what it was the first Legislative Assembly, as a basis upon which to apport the case of Kausas, and themselves dragged, literally there are ed to the Governor, in the Spring of 1855, dragged along the earth, a distance of still holding over, and a House of Repre- I have only to say that there was wellpable, and somewnat protean pointed quantity, called "popular sovereignty," that officer, after regulating the details, through the intricate mazes of theoretic inquiry, but shall rather seek to unfold its practical workings, as developed in the chosen theatre of its operations, in the country, knows what took place in the trial of some years. The stand-point Kansas on the 30th of March, 1855. I shall be gislature valid, and their laws binding, the details, sentatives, chosen in October, 1856, under the operation of the test oaths. I shall be sentatives, chosen in October, 1856, under the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered oundant the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operation of the test oaths. I shall be fraudulent. The aggregate of registered on the operatio from which my views of the subject are shall not repeat details that are familiar, appearing to presecute them. This intaken is not identical with that occupied I only say this—that the secret society stance will serve to show, that the pro-

sence of things; they are indestructable, every Congress for a century

persistent truth. It cannot be forgotten, It must not be ignored. It taints with its of the October election. For the first pestilent touch every subsequent act of time in the history of the country the parthe Territorial Government, from the day ties met at the polls, after a long yet Trains of emigrants, on which it was siezed, to the day when the last ballot-box was stuffed, and the the ill-gotten power of the 30th of March in the hands of its then possessors. To erty seized and detained. Meantime a ted showing in behalf of the Lecompton State party bore off the victory by 5,000 of the commission to which I have ad-

public opinion is generated and expressed. militia force from Missouri, with which valid law are to be found in these enactfamous or impossible conditions; invidi-ous test ouths were skilfully contrived, by ous test oaths were skilfully contrived, by condition, beyond the hope of recovery. of convenience or policy, might choose to means of which the elector should either. This army, when, after several weeks, it render them, yet, for the sake of this disbe thrust as a recusant from the polls or took up the line of march for the interior, cussion, I am willing to yield what gen-

I assert, in the first place, that the Legscaffold, were prescribed penalities for the the most frightful scene of all our history islature contemplated the commission of violation of that salutary provision of despotism, that none shall call in question mob, under the lead of a Federal officethe title "of the powers that be." The holder, (he is still one) assisted in com-

women and children were forced at the hundred and fifty seven, to make an enu-point of the bayonet, to fly from their meration of all the free white male inhab-nomes; larger numbers of citizens were itants, citizens of the United States, over constrained to leave the country, in order twenty-one years of age, and all other procustean bed. The Assembly trampled to save their lives; the stores, warehouses white persons, actually resident in their

ago. Nor this alone. In this twelve-months previous residence, amounted to month, an intermediate work of most nearly three thousand. Now, it will be fearful augury has begun. The Lecomposerved that every one who was enti-I do not present that Constitution, although I am the organ of that people upon this floor. That blow on their rights

into rous to be complicated; and, secondly, cincts. Of the votes cast, or pretended to truth, we relied on the distinct and emphatic one balf—3,012—were obtained at the Gen. Walker, that we should be pretect- precincts of Oxford, Shawnee and Kicka- ured fame of the pure and lofty men she unchangeable, and sternal. The people of in our reserved right of voting, for or of Kansas will maintain, doggedly if you against the instrument, when it should please, the truth of their history, though unchangeable, and sternal. The people ad in our reserved right of voting, for or A large majority of the people no doubt the awful powers thus usurped from the sacked, and offensive matter not unfre-people, to whom they rightfully belonged, quently pillaged and published. Battershould vainly seek to falsify it by short- were fulled into indifference, or deluded

The Convention was organized in Seppeaceful canvass, in the full enjoyment of tered vote. the right of suffrage. The result undenid, it was becoming that they should destroy all the great aids by which opinion is generated and expressed. In the ballot-box beneath interest of impossible conditions; invidi-State under it, whether it was submitted When I stand here in my place, to plead be debauched and demoralized by the for the inherent right of the people of act of submission to the test. Freedom of Kansas to frame their fundamental law, be debauched and demoralized by the numbered twenty-seven hundred men, the people or not to the people or fraud to the bottom, from which nothing the title "of the powers that be." The press muzzled and the people gagged, the far-reaching influence of literature was next assailed.

The imprimatur of the usurping Assembly was made as a condition precedent to the circulation of any printed matter of a political kind. The lessons bequeathed by the Fathers, as well as the best approved doctrines of our Democratic co-

Mr. PEYTON, I see, from the mi-Douglas, that in the eighteen counties registered there were ninety-six hundred votes polled against the Constitution on the 4th of January; that the census showed nine thousand two hundred and sary, I might find it in the fact that a Delegate from a distant Territory, [Gen. Lane of Oregon] has seen fit to go beyond his own sphere of action, and assail trated and disciplined for the destruction and constituents, in order to promote the the people by their conventions, protests from the people by their Legislature, indicating the indignant and almost unantimous disapproval of it by those who are falsely said to have framed it, and for whose benefit it is with still greater falsity said to be intended. The law to which the intended to the fact that the distribution of this vote cast in October, on any issue ivolving this Legislature, in the fact that the october of the Constitution of the Constituti

> friend from Kentucky, that I am coming to that point. Undoubtedly there are cinets, that, of the 6,000 votes and up-wards, cast in December, nearly one-half too, were discovered mainly at three precincts. Of the votes cast, or pretended to one-balf-3,012-were obtained at the Oxford to be forty-seven; in Shawnee, one three hundreed. It is safe, therefore, to tember, but adjourned to await the issue cast, on the 21st of December, not over less of favorable interest to her institutwo thousand were polled by actual citizens of the Territory. This will account for the apparent surplus as to the regis-

I may be allowed to say further, in this the evidence. No candid man who reads party endorsed it, and their candidate for Congress, openly declared that he would if elected, advocate the admission of the his mind of the unscrupulous character of

these elections. What is said of the election of the 21st December is also applicable to the elec sought to be made upon the country that there was popular support given to this

Constitution in the Territory.

Mr. PEYTON, (interrupting.) In the

ion of the United States army. Hence-forth its sessions were thus protected. On the 7th of November, the Convention fin-

sion to the inextinguishable shame which, I should like, if time per upon us and our children after us. of los

Better, far better, would it be, in my opinion, that the sunny slopes of our mag and yield their increase to the hand of fering by years of patient fortitude, I de-clare my confident conviction, in this presence, that they cannot be dragooned into a tame compliance with this great wrong

"Ensign were it To hard the rected mountain from its base that force the joke of Salvery on men Determined to be free."

peace. Peace from injustice! peace from oppression and fraud! peace from the de-struction, in fact, of the great principle of popular government, the enjoyment of

or even tolerable to an American citizen. So far from bringing peace, I submit that this is a measure o to be the motive power. Coercion is war What has the coercion of years past aca return to the right rule of law. I marvel much to see the South, illuminated by the name of Freedom, rich in the treasthe cause of truth, now moving forward hundred; and in Kickapoo, not to exceed in a solid column, lowering her crest, and with averted eyes joining battle for a say that, of the whole number of votes cause that has nothing of right, and still tions, involved in its proposed success. I say to her, respectfully, that there is perfitly in this business, and such perfitly as will return to plague her when too late to retrace the step she is now taking. When the spoils of the victory are told, she will

"For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind.

onstitutional rights shall be respected can with ill grace, I submit, afford to deny that boon to others, under any pretence, however specious. Beware how you sow infirmities in the spirit of your ad-

is stitution they had framed was not submitted to a vote of the people, for approval a or rejection—nor was any substantive part of it thus submitted. A proposition of relative to the future importation of slaves was submitted; but the disposition of that, whatever it might be, could in no manner affect the status of the negative of grounder the future State Government.

support from the people, it slinks away, like a convicted felon, from any submisdon of its pretensions to the judg

Mr. CLEMENS, (interruping) do I un-derstand the gentleman from Kaness to contend that the Topeks Constitution is

either legal or legitimate; and that he, a discharge of his official duty, that Cor Mr. PARROT. I said a mor that the people of Kansas had virtu Topeka Constitution. In answer further. however, to the gentleman from Virginia duty, give the Topeka Constitut the preference. In every point of view, it is incomparably superior to the one framed at Lecompton. I was going on Constitution, in relation to the Terr has freely given up to the cause of the Republic in all times of peril, cherishing Territorial Government, have, in reality, rescued it from the edium and imbecility beneath which it was prostrate; they have newness of life, through popular support. Nav. more: they are the only defenders Nay, more: they are the of it against those who were its worst enemies, while they enjoyed it by usurpation; and its only ones, now that they ends. But, alas! with the departure of the ruffian usurpation, has fied also those charms which once captivated the affec-tions of the Executive bosom. The

President no longer upholds this Govern-Enough has been said on this subject to show you that the specifications, on which the President grounds his charges against the people of Kansaa, are palpably erroneous, as illustrated by the reco

Congress, as well as otherwise.

The people of Kaness have borne and forborne much for the sake of the Constiion and Union, which they The President has seen fit, in his annual and special messages, to stigmatize the people of Kansas as rebellious and revolutionary in their conduct and opinions. In his annual message he says, "It is to be regretted that all the qualified electors had not registered themselves." And again, that "a large portion of the citizens of Kansas did not think proper to register themselves, an opportunity to do so having been afforded." &c. I have already shown that it was never contemplated by the set that the people, nor any part of them, should "register themselves;" on the other hand, it is made the imperative duty of certain municipal officers. Again, patriots that are evoked by the stirring